

MEMORIAL

WHEREIN

The present Case of the Antient Leasees,
the Inward Pawn Sub-Tenants, and the
Outward Pawn present Tenants, of the *Royal Exchange*
is truly, and impartially S T A T E D.

AS ALSO

Some ANIMADVERSIONS and remarkable passages
relating to the present and publique revenue of the said
Place: with some modest proposals for the future benefit
and most certain advantage of the same.

HUMBLY Presented

To the Consideration of the Right Honourable Sir *Robert Viner* Knight and
Baronet, Lord Mayor of the City of *London*: and to the rest of the
Right Worshipful and Worthy Members of the grand Committee
for *GRESHAM* Affairs.

B. 1674

By an Unfeigned Welwisher to the Flourishing Estate of the City of
London, and in particular to all the present Inhabitants of the *Royal*
Exchange, within the said Place.

LONDON Printed Anno Dom. 1674.

To the Reader.

Reader.

Ifairly salute thee, if Courteous if not whoever thou art that takest up this small peice into thy hands, and peradventure at first sight art somewhat concerned and offended at the very title-page thereof. I would advise thee by all means to forbear railing against it, (railings and invectives being no powerful charms, but rather weak and contemptible means to convince the reasons of men) until thou hast diligently and thoroughly (laying aside all prejudice) perused and examined the same And that, not then neither (unless thou hast a mind to betray at once too much of thy humane frailty and imbecillity) without thou art able to appear upon the stage and expose to publick view more solid and substantial arguments, than are herein contained, in confutation thereof. This I thought requisite to advertise thee, by reason I do already foresee an approaching storm upon this very accompt. But yet if thou hast a mind, and art willing to enter the lists; I will assure thee for thy encouragement therein, thou shalt find so Fair, so Noble, so generous a Combatant, that if thy arguments are conclusive, he shall be as willing and ready to make an ingenuous and publick recantation of his present mistakes.

Farewell.





TO THE
 Right Honourable, and to the Right Wor-
 shipful Committee for *Gresham*
 Affairs.

*My Lord Maior and you the worthy Knights
 and Gentlemen, Members of the grand Com-
 mittee.*

HAVING for several years last past, been very conversant
 and held a good correspondence with the inhabitants,
 (many of them being my worthy and much respected
 friends and intimate acquaintance) of your Royal Ex-
 change. I am able to say this of them by experience, that I
 do verily believe, there is no particular number of people
 whatsoever (take them number for number,) within the walls
 of your City of *London* and Suburbs thereof (more especi-
 ally considering there being so many of the same trade) as do
 live more peaceably and lovingly together than these do. A
 notable instance hereof (as a confirmation of what I have here
 asserted) may plainly appear, by their loving and neighbour-
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ly meeting together every 17th. day of *November* yearly, to celebrate and solemnize the ever blessed memory of *Queen Elizabeth's* Coronation, whom (as our Ancestours have declared unto us) gave the first name and appellation unto your Royal Exchange, At which time also, they have their Chaplin *pro tempore*, that so they may be excited, and stirred up to works of Charity unto their decayed Members, and for the more Grace, Gravity and Sobriety of their present solemnity: And the front of their Stewards printed Tickets for their Annual invitation, doth usually run after this manner, *Viz. For the Continuance of Amity and Unity, and our ancient Society, you are hereby desired, &c.*

But so it is (*May it please your good Lordship and Worships*) that sometime before, and since the late dreadful fire, there have been (upon several pretences) such animosities, feuds and contentions risen amongst them, very few comparatively (the more is the Pity) being of that most heroick, and noble Spirit, and temper; as to mind the publick good and concernment of the said place before their own private and particular self interest) so that by means thereof, it hath doubtless very much hindred and obstructed the present flourishing estate of your Royal Exchange, as by the sequel of this memorial (the which by the instance and request of some particular Friends is now exposed to publick view) will more fully and plainly appear.

The Premises considered, and as a member of the City of *London*, having a very great kindness, vallue and respect for your Royal Exchange, and in particular for several of my good Friends and Acquaintance within the said Place, I was much affected therewith, and thereupon, of late, have made it my business somewhat to enquire into the true state of Affairs, (and truly before my strict enquiry by reason of the perpetual clamors, and fair pretences of every Party, I found it was a very hard matter rightly to understand them) as to their said Animosities before
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mentioned. And herein it was many times a pleasant diversion to hear these contesting parties, so much at variance and contention one with another, when I observed that interest, particular self interest with most of them, (especially among the grandees) lay still at the bottom. Yet not suffering my self to be biaſſed, (although I did many times love to take the weakest part, being my natural constitution to vindicate the oppressed innocent) nor to be born down with the clamours and railings, but with the reasons of Men. I got this fair advantage thereby as (I am perswaded) in some good measure to inform both my self, and you, of the right of the case: And upon the whole matter, I do find, that their said animosities are never likely to be reconciled (and so consequently your Royal Exchange never likely to be in a flourishing condition) untill you who are the worthy Members of the grand Committee, shall put your helping hands to the Plough, & shall please by the interposition of your power and authority to accomplish the same. Wherefore that so happy and so desirable an effect (for as the Schoolmen say, *sublata causa tollitur effectus*) as the flourishing condition of your Royal Exchange, may in your dayes (that is during your Sessions as members of this Honourable Court) be compleately and effectually accomplished: The Authour thought, it would be an acceptable service to the Major part of those who are concerned upon your Royal Exchange, (the antient Leases only excepted) to present you with a memorial (wherein all your Tenants cases should be fairly and truly stated) the which in all the submissive and respective terms imaginable, he doth here most humbly present unto your Lordship and Worships most grave and prudent considerations.

This being premised by way of introduction, I am now to give a particular account of all these contesting Parties before mentioned, and herein I shall not (neither for Fear nor Favour) mince the matter before you, whereby to conceal any thing as
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material to my present purpose or requisite and necessary for your information, so that all things appearing so fair, naked and open (and driving on no design of particular self interest, enough to marr the best cause in the world) I hope in time there will be such a right understanding between you and your present Tenants, as that neither you nor they for the future will have any cause to repent the publication hereof.

And now these contesting Parties, in and related unto the Royal Exchange, you have them reduced already in the Title page unto these three heads, *viz.*

1. The Antient Leases.
2. The inward Pawn Sub-tenants.
3. The outward pawn Present-Tenants.

And all these I will take them in their Order as here they present themselves, in manner and form as followeth.

And first for the Antient Leases (they being Stars of the first magnitude I must give them the precedency) I presume it is not necessary nor requisite, that I should give you a particular Catalogue here in print of every one of them by name, (this were indeed to pull down an old house here, upon my Head) but only let you know, that as such, they are those who before the late dreadful Fire had given over their Trades (having renewed before hand several of them their Leases for 21 years) let their Shops (full of braded wares) at most unreasonable rates, *viz.* for 30, 40, and 50 pounds *per annum* for one single Shop in your Royal Exchange, and in fine they are such, who for several years last past have lived, they and their Heires (and would willingly for ever be at the same lock, as making a better livelihood thereby than keeping Shops themselves) upon the labours and careful endeavours of many poor young People, who by means thereof have not been able, comfortably to provide for themselves and Families, nor to bear up under such intolerable and insupportable burthens.

And

And of these Leases, there are two sorts, viz.

1. Antient.

2. Modern.

I am forced to make use of, and borrow this distinction on purpose hereafter to avoid a mistake, and a misunderstanding from the Leases themselves. I call him a Modern Leasee, who is in actual possession by Lease of his own Shop (and long may he peaceably and quietly enjoy his said possession,) and among these there are at this day here and there one, who have Leases of more Shops than their own; and these do also (like the precedent Leasees) let the said Shops at an extraordinary rate, and these men do now take up the cudgels and plead in the behalf of the Antient Leasees (it being in this respect their own proper case) as if they were here alwaies personally present to defend themselves. Wherefore these ensuing lines are not designed nor intended against them as they are Modern but as they are Antient Leasees.

Aud now to my present purpose.

These are the men who after the late most dreadful Fire, did so bitterly exclaim against (like so many Bears robbed of their whelps : and yet clearly upon a mistaken notion as the sequel hereof will plainly demonstrate) your building of double Pawns within your Royal Exchange, and that their Children as yet unborn would be bound to curse those who were the first projectors or petitioners for the same, although in the mean time (as if they had never heard of *lex talionis*) they do not say, whose Children will be bound to pray for them whose Fathers have been ruined and undone by wrack-rents, before they came to be Antient Leasees. *And Moreover*, That a late Book, the Title whereof was *LONDON'S NONSUCH*, (wherein double Pawns by the Author thereof was proposed) deserved to be burnt by the common Hangman for the contents thereof. Wherefore in vindication of all those who did petition for double Pawns, and in

particular for all those who gave their suffrages for the publication of the said Book. I dare here take up the cudgels and will fairly, and modestly argue the rationality, and honest design of that Book, (as having diligently perused the same) against the stoutest & most rigid Lessee of them all. And pray what was the design of that book, (if a man now may be so bold as to ask them) if any of you have read it, or have any desire to peruse the same, (I fear very few of the former Committees, by reason of the bitter railings and clamors of the Lessees against it, although licensed by Authority, thought it worth their perusal) you will find that the main and principal design of the Author therein (and for the jocular and pleasant part thereof he gives a particular account, in his Epistle dedicatory to this Honourable Court) was, *That inasmuch as the grand Committee had voted for double Pawns, and that they had stretched the dimensions of the said Place, unto a far greater compass than formerly, that they would please thereupon to make provision therein for four pair of stairs, and four Balconies within the inward Walks thereof; and also that they would please to be moderate in their Rents and Fines, and that two sides of the said place might be converted into deep Shops and that the Trades therein, by the interposition of their authority (before they let any new Leases,) might be so orderly placed (just as it is at this day in the New Exchange, where two of the same Trade cannot be placed together) so as that they should not interfere or be prejudicial one to another.* Lo here now (*in paucis Verbis*) the design of that most malignant and contemptible Book, and if this was not then and will be still the interest of your selves (in respect of your present, and future revenue) and also the interest of all your Tenants (as to their equal accommodation) I must ingenuously here declare. I have no reason nor understanding (as to the premises) now left or remaining in me. But it is well that I have an instance ready at hand (which will be right worthy also of your Honours particular observation) for confirmation hereof, (and an instance taken

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pro Confesso from an adverse Party is a *dilemma* indeed) viz. That those very men, who did so much clamor, and most bitterly inveigh against the said Book as ridiculous, nonsensical, scandalous (and many the like opprobrious and contemptible terms) did in a short time after come to the said Authour, and to the rest of your outward pawn Tenants, to request them, that inasmuch as they wanted Aire in their inward Walks, that they would please to joyn with them in an humble petition to the grand Committee, to procure themselves four Balconies within the said Place: unto the which they did very willingly and readily assent, although according to the narrow and straight laced principles of meer policy and self interest, it was a disadvantage unto them, and although their petition was thereupon granted, yet the said Balconies are now but a botch, in comparison of what they might have been, had they been built before those prison Windows, (as a worthy member of this Committee, by name Sir *Thomas Player* coming upon a surveigh was pleased to call them) were first erected.

And Moreover, that you may see how miserably these men were mistaken in their present notions, they would now be glad withal their hearts to see all those things proposed in the said Book, really and effectually accomplished. For as double Pawns was therein proposed, it would rather have fortified their wrack rents (the more would have been the pity) for the remaining time of their Leases, than have impaired or diminished (which was their darling notion wherein they were so much in the dark) any part or parcel thereof. And therefore what shall a man say to these things, but only *monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum* : and the truth of it is, undigested principles and false notions (as not being guided by reason) once sucked in, hath been in all ages of most pernicious and dangerous consequence both to Church and State. So that now as briefly as I could (and as the matter would bear) I have here given you the true state

and present condition of these antient Leases, and as for their present design now on foot (and so furiously carried on withal the fair shows, and most specious pretences imaginable) for Leases of 21 years (although their arguments for the same, as I could easily make appear, are but weak, sophistical, fallacious and of a dismal consequence) the which looking with so ugly and deformed a countenance, I hope the Young men in the outward Walks will wash their hands in innocency, and will not desire to be of their Councils nor Faction therein, nor yet suffer themselves to be admitted (though it seems some of them have been courted and invited thereunto, because of going hand in hand to the grand Committee to make their design more feasible) but they have hitherto had the grace to refuse themselves to be Members of their private Cabal,

And as for their Tenant-rights so much insisted upon and cryed up amongst them, as much as was the great *Diana of Ephesus*, Whereas *in re vera* after their Leases are expired they have no more legal right or pretence thereunto (as being your propriety and estate) than a Porter that goes every day along the Streets with his burthen at his back. And here I would willingly be informed by this Honourable Court, of this one question, *viz*, Who hath the more legal and Tenant-right in equity and good Conscience to renew the Leases of your said Shops, him that hath paid a wrack rent of about 40 or 50 *pounds per Annum* for one single Shop for 10 or 20 years together, or him that hath paid about 12 or 14 *pounds per annum* for the same term, and if you will not please to resolve me in this question, pray let it be propounded to the Antient Leases (when they come next before you with their humble petition for Leases of 21 years more) to give their answer thereunto, and it is prayed that their humble petition their Tenant-rights, and their 21 years Leases may out of your Court be dismissed together. And as for an abatement of their present rents, it is my humble request unto
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this Honourable Court (so long as they shall continue in actual possession) that you would please to use them as kindly as you can.

Having dispatched the ancient Leases, I come now to the poor Sub-tenants, which present themselves next in order; and these I have placed in the Center, because we usually say, *In Medio consistit Virtus*; so that I hope you will take special notice of them: But by reason I have also made bold to present you with an Humble Petition in their behalfs, (wherein their Case likewise is fairly and truly stated) and have prayed, that you would please to take them into your particular care and protection; I presume I need not trouble you much further in this place, upon their Account.

But onely there is one very material Objection and stumbling-block to be removed out of the way, before they can found a Victory, or can conclude, that their future Happiness, Tranquillity and Redemption, is approaching, or near at hand, and that is this: *Viz.*

That although you did formerly make a most famous Order (as being then truly sensible of the former Estate & Condition of your poor Sub-tenants) which if it was then made like the Laws of the *Medes & Persians*, unalterable, it deserves to be engraven upon the Walls of your Royal Exchange, next to Sir *William Turner*, in Letters of Gold, *Viz.*

That those onely who should be in actual Possession at or near the Expiration of any of your future Leases, should be permitted to Renew.

But so it is, That since the late dreadfull Fire, this Order hath been much infringed, and you have taken 5 *l.* a piece of several of the ancient Leases, to Renew again for Eleven years (so that, *Tempora mutantur, & New Lords, New Laws.*) But it is hoped, that upon second thoughts, and upon your Petitioners present Complaint, you will not permit them to Renew; but will still construe this Transaction, with refe-

reference and respect first had to your former Order, unless you did repeal and make void the said Order after the late Fire, and before you did receive their said Five pounds, or else that you did not take any notice thereof, as not remembering in what a Condition those Sub-tenants had been; or else that you took it for granted, that all those Leasees; who had payd in their Five pounds, had been in actual possession; and if so, you may very well return them their Money again, as under a mistake: But if this for the present cannot be avoyded, it is hoped for the future (as Leases do fall into your hands) you will please to take a special and particular care in relation thereunto.

And now it comes into my mind, I remember a remarkable Passage of an ancient Shop-keeper (as I have been informed) of your *Royal Exchange*, which being pertinent to the business in hand, I have thought good here to insert, *Viz.*

That the good old Man having payd a Wrack-rent for the space of several years together, for his Dwelling-house, but at length, when his Land-lords Lease from the Company was near expired, as he was sitting one Night by the Fire, with his Children about him, there knocks a man at his door with this Message, *viz.* That he came from the Master and Wardens of such a Company, to give him Notice, that he must come such a day to the Hall (as being the immediate Tenant) to Renew the Lease of his House: At which the good old Man was so much overjoyed and transported, as that he thought it was a good Angel in Humane shape, that did appear to bring him such welcome and such acceptable Tydings. The Application hereof I leave to your most worthy selves; and if it should so happen, that in process of time, Mr. *Godfrey*, or any of your Officers, should chance to be any of these good Angels, I question not but the honest and true-hearted Sub-tenants, would give them honest content and satisfaction for their pains.

And

And now to close, in relation to these sub-tenants, I do verily believe that many of them are but in a mean and low Condition: And the truth of it is, what with the Rent for their Houses, what with the Charge for their Families, what with the loss in Braded Wares, what with the Alteration of Fashions, (but only this is an Age of Wonders, or else one might well stand amazed, and be astonished, at the most prodigious Humour, and strange fickleness of the Age upon this very Account,) what with desperate Debts, and what with bad Trading, they need not have wrack Landlords, (if possibly to be avoyded;) for furious Lievtenants to bring up the Rear (unless Trading should thereupon flow in upon them like a mighty flood) in order to their more speedy, and sometimes most certain Ruine.

And when men are in Durance, Bondage and Slavery, for them to use all fair and probable Means whereby to Redeem themselves out of the said Captivity, I think this is no Sin, nor Offence either to God or Man. But the ancient Leasees will not admit, nor by no means swallow this down for Orthodox Doctrine, and will say, That those who go about, and are Instrumental in destroying of their Tenant-rights, and their interest in future Leases, (the which, with the Locks, shackles and Fetters which they have put upon them, they do think are as good both to them and their Heirs, as Land of Inheritance) do deserve to be severely and exemplarily chastised: But whether the ancient Leasees, or the poor Sub-tenants Doctrine in this particular, be true or false, *Sub Judice lis est.*

And now to proceed to my Third and last Enterprize, viz. To the Outward Pawn-tenants: And as I have placed the ancient Leasees in the front of the Battel, that so they may lead the Van, (and because I humbly conceive they have been the *Duces omnium malorum*, of all these late Animosities, I have thereupon thought good to put them into the Forlorn Hope, and peradventure upon that Account, if they

they should chance to meet with a brisk Rencounter before the Grand Committee, it is probable they may come off with broken Pates, or which is worse, with the loss of several of their limbs; that is, with the loss of some branches of their future and wrack-rented Revenues;) so I have placed the Sub-tenants in the Center, hoping thereby (being now shrowded under your safeguard and protection) there they may be safe and secure enough from the Annoyance and danger of the Enemy. And now as to your Outward Pawn-tenants, although they come last in Order, yet they stand in the Second place of Honour, whereupon I am resolved to make these my Noble Lieutenants, and do not question but they may prove valiant Champions to bring up the Rear.

These are the men therefore (*Right Honourable and Right Worshipful*) who came lately out of the Land of *Egypt* (pray pardon the similitude and all others of the like nature as being added only by way of illustration) and were redeemed from their Captivity therein by your most valiant and noble hands, in hopes that in a short time you would have placed them in a Land flowing with Milk & Honey, but so it is (may it please your good Lordship and Worships) that by the inauspicious influence of some superior Planets being predominant or by some other unlucky interposition (for they know not where certainly to fix it, although I could here give a shrewd guess as to the true cause and reason thereof) they do find themselves still in the Wilderness, and are at this time in their Journey no farther than the waters of *Marah*, and as for their daily sustenance they cry out for help, help (and it is you Right Honourable, and you Right Worshipfull, and you onely, that can work a Miracle for them) or else in a short time, they say, they shall famish in this barren Wilderness for want of Bread, they mean for want of Trading, by reason of the Inconveniences of their present station.

But

But yet once again, these are the Men (Right Honourable, and Right Worshipfull) which have lifted themselves under your Protection; these are the Men that have marched under your Conduct, and have obeyed your Commands: these are the men that have fought your Battles, (that is, vindicated your Honour upon all Occasions, in building this most stately, and most magnificent structure of the Royal Exchange, and of your building double Pawns therein:) These are the Men who have kept possession of your Shops (although to some of them a most apparent loss and disadvantage; witness in particular, by name Mr. *William Rutland junior.*) when others of a more pusillanimous and faint-hearted spirit, upon their first entrance into the Battle did immediately quit the field, (returning again to their Garlick and Onions) and left their fellow-souldiers to shift for themselves, and yet notwithstanding maugre all the reproach and contempt that have been cast upon your Outward Pawns, (such as, *By-Walks, Turn-again-lanes, Back-side of Mother Browns Barn*, and the like; but you may guess from whence these Appellations came, and to what end designed,) have still stoutly held out (although so strongly begirt with such strong and potent Assailants) in hopes that relief would come in its proper season, and that must be when you are possessed with a clear understanding of the right of their Case, and of the reason of things, and then surely you are Obligated in Honour (considering all these precedent Circumstances) to rally up your Forces to raise the siege, and to relieve your Garrison, and that with all Expedition, lest that they should be so put to their shifts, as that they could not hold out much longer, but must be forced to surrender up your Fort Royall upon dishonourable terms, and so in conclusion be made Prisoners of War. And this may now commodiously be done (for it lies within your power, *de facto*, at present, to effect the same,) by answering their Expectations, by satisfying their Desires, by granting their

Petitions, and by hearkning to their Proposals whenever they shall make Application unto you, wherein your publick Interest shall be concerned, as well as their own Convenience and Accommodation.

But inasmuch as these Outward Pawn-tenants, have at this day a Petition before you, with Reasons annexed thereunto, wherein they have stated their own present Case, (and I cannot imagine who can state their own Case, or shew where their shooes pinch them, better than themselves) unto their said Petition and Reasons therefore I shall at present most humbly refer you.

And in the mean time, inasmuch as in my Introduction I gave you a hint, that I would not conceal any thing from you, either for fear or favour, as material to my present purpose, or necessary for your Information; give me leave then in pursuance thereof, here to represent unto you some of their private Whisperings, and present Sentiments, when they do usually meet together upon these publick Concerns; the which being duly weighed, considered and digested, among your worthy selves, for ought I know it may prove hereafter of singular Use, Benefit and Advantage, for the publick interest of your *Royal Exchange*.

And wherein these Tenants of yours have Reason on their side, I hope you will please to give me leave to say something in their Vindication; but if not, I shall be as free on the other hand to declaim against them.

Imprimis therefore, & *ante omnia*, They do say, that ever since they did petition the Grand Committee for double Pawns (they mean that Committee, who were first appointed for Re-building of the *Royal Exchange*) inasmuch as it hath not answered all those Ends and Purposes, as to the Income and Revenue which at first they did design thereby, some of the said Members (and who are yet continued) have had some prejudice against them upon that very Account; And whenever since they have made any
humble

humble Propofal, in order to the general and publick Advantage of the faid Place, or for their own Convenience and Accommodation, they do find that this hath alwayes been a blot in their Efcutcheons, as to their Accomplishment thereof; For fome of the faid Members ufually rifing up and declaring, That thefe were the Men that did firft petition them for Double Pawns; fo that they have been constrained to go home again much discontented, fince all hath been dafhed upon this account: So that in Answer hereunto, I muft needs enter my Proteft, and fay, That thefe Gentlemen are fomewhat too partial in relation thereunto; for although thefe Tenants of yours did petition for double Pawns, yet furely they did not impofe upon the Committee in their fo doing; for doubtlefs they did follow the Dictates of their own Reafons and Apprehenfions, notwithstanding their faid Petition; And this doth plainly appear by the Confequence thereof, for in many things they have gone quite contrary to their faid Petition; and if they had not, they never would have troubled the Court afterwards fo often as they have done, to make fome convenient Alterations in the faid Place. And although before the late moft dreadful Fire, there were too fmall a number of fmall Shops therein, and it was a very great fhame and difparagement, to fee your *Royal Exchange* cut and mangled, divided and fub-divided, into halves, quarters, and three-quarter Shops, and at fuch an exceffive Rate alfo, as that it was almoft impoffible for any Perfon to live comfortably therein; fo now (as the matter hath been ordered) there is on the other hand, too great a number of fmall Shops therein: But as Double Pawns were modeftly propofed (though not impofed) and had it taken Effect, there would not have been one fmall Shop too many at this day in the faid place. And here under this Head, I will not omit one thing more, which they do fay (and peradventure may be one occult Reason why their modeft Propofals have been alwayes fo

much slighted and contemned) *viz.* That some leading Members of this Honourable Court, have taken a particular prejudice and displeasure against one of your Outward-Pawn Tenants, (and that clearly upon a mistake, and a false Report) in a business, wherein as to matter of Fact he was as innocent as the Child that is yet unborn.

But to proceed a little further, (for things of this and the like nature coming to light, may at length turn to some good Account;) in the next place they do say, That when they did lately petition for the turning of the Stairs on the North-side, and for some other convenient Alterations to be made in your Outward Pawns, whereby they might in some measure be equally accommodated with the rest of their Neighbours, the Committee did not deal so fairly, candidly, and openly with them, as was expected :

For when they came first before them, there came some persons also of the inward Pawn (who it seems had heard of their intentions) and desired of the Court that they would please to give them admission into their presence, that so they might hear the said proposals for alterations, as well as themselves, but being asked the question, whether they came there by virtue of any power or authority from the rest of their Neighbours, their answer was in the Negative, but however as to their desire, the Court asking the petitioners whether they were willing thereunto, whose answer was in the Affirmative (but with a proviso) they were immediately admitted thereupon, and upon the hearing and debate of the said proposals, the Court told them; that if they would come hand in hand by a joynt consent, their business was half done, for they said they would do any thing in reason for the general good of the whole Exchange, and therefore they did advise those inward Pawn Gentlemen to return again unto the place from whence they came, and to consult with their principals, and assemble their Neighbours together, and come again as authorized from them, with arguments

ments against the said proposals, and then they would be further heard, And as for the outward Pawn Tenants they told them that they need not come again in a body, but only two or three of them deputed from the whole, would be sufficient to come and receive an answer to their humble petition, whereupon they went away very well satisfied for that time, with so fair, so modest, and so generous an answer; but it seems it was to fair weather to last long, for behold immediately afterwards came this approaching storm, viz.

The next Court day comes Mr. Rutland, Mr. Duke, and Mr. Henry Joyce, (according to the Courts own order and appointment) with full power and authority, from the rest of their Neighbours (under their own hands, which they did produce in Court) to represent the whole. But no persons came from the inward Pawn (for at that time and at present, the major part of the Royal Exchange will not be against convenient alterations, but only some particular men who are particularly concerned in the inward Pawns) whereupon the Court did immediately send for the persons aforesaid to come before them, but no commission yet could they produce, neither had they (according to the Courts advice) assembled their Neighbours, but only kept a very great clamoring, and herein it is observable that they were called in separately from the rest, although before the other party were very free and willing to admit of them joyntly to make their defence. But when Arguments cannot do, then Policy must; and this they knew full well, that your said Tenants if they might be permitted to be heard, were able to answer to every iota, tittle, and point, which they should alledge in opposition unto the said alterations.

But however the Court did dismiss the said outward Pawn Tenants very abruptly at that time, but withal that was very probable they might farther consider of their said proposals, if they would still come hand in hand, whereas they went home together with those inward Pawn Gentlemen

men, and going to the Tavern afterwards to drink a glass of Wine together, (which was kindly done of them all notwithstanding their opposition so furiously one against another) one of them rounded his Companion in the eare, but it must be a very great secret, and under the Rose also (and as we usually say *in vino veritas*) viz. That they might set their hearts at rest and be quiet, for the Committee had faithfully promised them that they would make no alterations, whereupon they were so dissatisfied and discontented, that they say, they have great cause to take it unkindly from the Court, this their unkind and unexpected dealings with them, and that they did then resolve never to trouble the Court more, upon that accompt, or upon any other accompt whatsoever. And these very men have as little reason to complain for want of a trade as any persons in the Exchange whatsoever, only they thought, that by the turning of the Stairs on the Northside, some water might have run by their Mills which made them so eager and furious in opposition thereunto, whereas if their Shops stood in one of the quarters of *Morefields* next *Bedlam* gate (in the way that they deal in) they could not miss of Trade (and plain dealing is best, although the crafty Politician sayes that he that uses it will dye a begger.) And here farther they do say, that when at any time they come into your Court, they must observe that distance, they must so place their words, they must observe that order and method in their deportment, for fear of displeasing some Member or other, who will immediately repute them either saucy, peremptory or too pragmatical, that your eyes being so much upon them (and many times they say they are catcht up before they are down,) they have such an awe and dread upon their Spirits, for fear of giving offence, so that many times they cannot say what they would, and have to say, upon this very accompt. Whereas one would think in reason, that Landlords should be as free to permit their Tenants to speak to them in all cases

cases whatsoever (paying the due respects which they owe unto the quality of their persons, and to the place where they are assembled in Court) as they are free to receive their rents from their said Tenants. And although sometimes it may fall out that a man may take a bargain of his Landlord, as that his House, his Land, or Shop, may be very well worth and better than the Money that he pays for the same, yet your present Tenants do say (and I am very apt to believe them therein,) that their Money is far better at present, (nay double the value, as I shall make it appear hereafter by undeniable reasons) than any of yours said Shops, So that upon the whole matter, I dare engage in the behalf of all your outward Pawn Tenants (here and there one only excepted which do drive very considerable Trades) that in regard of those most unavoidable circumstances and inconveniencies which do alwaies attend the said place (many whereof are hinted in the Sub-Tenants case) if any of them could get else where but 100 pounds per Annum a peice, towards the present maintenance of themselves and Families, they would then straightway bid adieu to all their concerns within your Royal Exchange. And this (if seriously weighed and considered) is a miserable case, that a man must be constrained to give his constant attendance in the said place, and yet (in regard of the said inconveniencies) shall not be able to get 100 pounds per annum for his present maintenance, and yet when it is got (although out of the fire too, because the place at present is more like *Birchin lane*, than a Royal Exchange) the one moiety thereof must go, towards the payment of his Landlords for his house and Shop.

And if this be their present case, and if this were the late proceedings of the Court against them, alas! poor men what shall I say, Where will they center at last in hopes of releif, and when will the time come, wherein they may truly say, that their halcion daies are approaching, and that they may lift up their Heads, for their redemption draweth
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nigh. And now a little to plead their cause upon the precedent circumstances. As to matter of Alterations, all men in the world will allow this to be reason, *viz.* That you should endeavour to make both your Pawns as Equal as possibly you can, for the general Accommodation of the whole, (inasmuch as all are equally and alike concerned, as to matter of Rents,) or else, that you should make such a proportionable Abatement and Allowance, according to the real and apparent difference of the said place.

But for some men to perswade you, That in making any convenient Alterations (such as Turning the stairs, and taking down the Posts on the North-side, and making the East and West-side into Large shops, and the like,) would destroy and impair your Inward Pawn-Rents, (which it seems was their grand Objection, and the Committee did swallow it without chewing) is such a Wind-mill and a Chimæra, as I could easily make it appear, (onely self-interest men will put on a good face upon any thing whatsoever, though never so incongruous and inconsistent with Humane Reason, and as we proverbially say, *Audaces Fortuna juvat, cum in terga removetur Modestia,*) That I must here most earnestly beseech your good Lordship and Worships, that you would not henceforward suffer your selves (by any prevailing Party, or pretence whatsoever) to be born down with the Clamours and Railings, but with the Reasons of Men : For if you should make at this day what Alterations you please, without the consent and approbation of the Ancient and Modern Leases (for they were both Modern which came then before you) or being frightened with their Bug-bears, or allured with their Charms, as to the danger that may ensue thereby; yet it is Ten thousand pounds to a Nut-shell, but the present Inhabitants and Sub-tenants of the said inward Pawns, (wherein there is at present above Three-score of your said Shops let upon the Wrack,) may be brought over and perswaded by very good words

words to accept of your Leases (when they are expired) at your present Rents, if in case hereafter it doth appear, that you cannot possibly afford them at a cheaper Rate.

And moreover some of them do likewise say, That the Walks of your *Royal Exchange* are so extream and pitifull Narrow, so that both the *Exchanges* at the other end of the Town (and many times their Customers by way of Emulation, for their respects and value they have for those *Exchanges*, take notice thereof) do far surpass and outvie them upon that very Account. And again some do say, (which although it be a jocular and a pleasant Reason, yet there may be much of truth therein) *viz.* That by reason the Stairs of your *Royal Exchange* are built so high, they have of late, lost most of their Tiffical, Consumptive and short-winded Customers within the City of *London*, and Suburbs thereof, (the which being of so vast an extent, and a place so Populous, may arise to a very great number) which in *Gresham Colledge* was a considerable branch of their present Revenue.

And here by the way, Had you made your Accommodation for such small Trades as are now in your *Royal Exchange* below stairs, in those extream parts which you have purchased and taken in, but bring you in nothing considerable (by reason you would not have it stand contiguous, in order to the greater safety and security for the future of the said place) and that the said Shops should have fronted towards the Merchants (with double Pillars, although they are now but single) just as it was in *Gresham-Colledge*; and also, that you had made above stairs but one long single Pawn, and but one Roof, with large and deep shops therein, fitting for *Mercers*, *Silk-men*, *Indian-gown Men*, *Popes-head-Alley Men*, and all other whole-sale Men of the present Inhabitants as have occasion (by reason of their Trades) to make use of large shops, you had then made it the most

famous place for Accommodation of Trades, this day in the whole World: And it would have brought you in what Revenue you had pleased in Reason to require for the same. And if the City of *London*, and Right Worshipfull Company of *Mercers*, should condescend so far, as to spare (or to procure) so much Money whereby to make it still after the same Manner (the Consent of all Parties concerned being first had and obtained) I dare forfeit all the Concerns I have in the World, (in regard I am able to make it out by most solid, substantial, rational demonstrations) that in seven years time it would turn to Account. And if this can be made out, then lay your hands to the Plough yet once again, and the Lord prosper the work of your hands, and your handy-work. But I fear, should this but once be undertaken, both the *Exchanges* at the other end of the Town, would immediately petition the Parliament to put a stop to your proceedings therein, and also that they would please to make an Act, That your *Royal Exchange*, should henceforward remain and be continued for ever in the same Manner and Form as it is at this day, any Law, Statute, Proclamation, Proviso, or By-law, to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Moreover, I do verily believe, that the Merchants of *London*, if once proposed unto them, would be willing to contribute their proportions (and that in a very considerable measure) for their particular Accommodations. And for my own part, were I for to take my choyce, I had much rather give you 30 *l. per annum* for one single Shop below stairs, of Eight Foot, so accommodated, than give you Five pounds *per annum* for one Shop above of the same Dimensions; and I could wish with all my heart, that some worthy, wealthy and most Noble Citizen, that in consideration of the Premises, (which would be so much to his Honour, and to his everlasting praise and renown) would please to make his own hands his present Executors, and
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would present you with a Bag of Gold of Twenty or Thirty thousand pounds, to be expended after this Manner, and would but make me one of his Surveyers and Overseers of the Work; I would then not only forfeit all my Concerns, but my Life it self, if I did not make your *Royal Exchange* in a short time, the most Famous, most Noble (setting aside the magnificence of the Structure, which you have already accomplished) and most Renowned place for Accommodation of Trades, as any place this day under the cope of Heaven. Pray pardon this small digression of mine, although it should never turn to any Account. But in good earnest, (and I do most solemnly here protest, in confirmation thereof) that had I such an Estate as many of our wealthy and worthy Citizens have, of some Thirty or Forty thousand pounds a Man, I would willingly (with all my Soul) advance the one Moiety (for the Honour of the City of *London*, and the Glory of the Nation) in order to the Accomplishment thereof. But to proceed:

These outward Pawn Tenants (notwithstanding their former bad success) have it seems adventured to present themselves before you yet once more, as being of late animated and encouraged thereunto by some worthy Members of this Grand Committee, in particular, by name, Mr. Warden *Godfrey*: So that you see they are willing to embrace any Opportunity, to take hold on every Twig to save themselves, that so at last they may arrive at their desired Haven. But it seems it is not at present (by reason of their former ill success) for any Alterations, (although that would be in some cases essentially necessary to the future Benefit and Advantage of the whole Exchange) but for a general Abatement of their present Rents. But what with the influence of some predominant and prevailing Party, what with the former prejudice and misinformation of some of your own worthy Members, what with the Clamors and Railings of some particular and self-interested persons,

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(whose Eyes will be evil, because peradventure yours may be good,) especially the ancient Leasees: They do not know how they shall speed, or what good success they shall have therein, onely they do hope, that since that Committee is changed, your Resolutions may not be the same, and that they may say, *Tempora mutantur, & vos mutabimini in illis.*

And now in consideration of the Premises, and upon the whole matter therein contained, peradventure you may here reply and say, *viz.*

1. That those Persons whose particular Interests I have here undertaken, have certainly obliged themselves by some particular Contract and Agreement, or else by some verbal Promises, to present you with some large and Noble Present and Gratitude for your pains and Expences, or else doubtless you would never have so zealously, and so passionately espoused (as you have done in this *Memorial* now presented unto us) their Cause therein.

But as to this, I will *extempore* and directly answer to the matter in hand, and will assure your good Lordship and Worships, (*& verbo Christiani verum est,*) That there is no one Person within the walls of your *Royal Exchange* (as an Inhabitant thereof) that hath made any such particular Contract, Agreement, or any verbal Promise with me upon that Account, nor but two of them (before it went to the Press) that I ever gave any hint of my Intentions or Resolutions therein, in order thereunto.

2. But as to matter of Alterations, it is very probable you may here also reply and say, That you are in some measure satisfied with the Reasons thereof (although the former Committees hitherto have been born down therein by the prevalency of parties, and for want of a true information of the right of the Case) and that thereupon you are resolved to take that and the poor Sub-Tenants Case together very suddenly (and that upon mature deliberation) into your
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most solemn and serious considerations, & that you will take all the care imaginable for the future, that the innocent shall be protected, that the oppressor shall be discountenanced, and that the honest and plain hearted (though modest and bashful) shall be encouraged and emboldened to speak their own Sentiments: and that all your Tenants in general (who are immediate possessors) shall be so fairly, and so nobly treated by an equal accomodation, that they shall have no cause to complain hence forward, the one against the other; and if this be your answer hereunto I do here in their behalfs present you with my most humble and hearty thanks. But,

3. As to any general abatement of their present rents (*durus est hic sermo*) it is such a thing, such an hard matter to swallow down, as cannot possibly enter as yet, not so much as into your private thoughts (as you are chosen trustees) for performance thereof, inasmuch as there lyes such a grand weight and strong objection against it, as that it is as possible almost to remove Mountains, as it is to remove the said objection out of the way, and although you are convinced and satisfied, that your Tenants (*rebus sic stantibus*) according to the several circumstances and inconveniences herein so largely declared, ought to sit but at very moderate rents, yet untill some of the outward or inward Pawn Tenants can solve this objection and remove it out of the way; you must turn your deaf ears unto the charmer (as you have here so powerfully endeavoured) although he should charm never so loud, and the objection (*in paucis Verbis*) is this, viz.

Object. That you have kept a very fair accompt of the whole charge of your rebuilding the Royal Exchange, and in the summe total, you do find it doth amount unto a very great summe, and that you have no other way or means whereby to reimburse your selves, but upon the present inhabitants of the said place, wherein you have taken such care so to moderate and proportion the rents and the rates of your Shops therein, according to the computation of your
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charge, desiring but a very little more by an annual rent and future revenue for the same, than the bare interest of the money doth amount unto (the principal still remaining within the walls of the said building) so that you cannot possibly afford your Shops at a cheaper rate than at present you do demand for them.

This objection (I must confess) seems so fair, so equitable, and so reasonable at the very first appearance that one would think it were enough (without any farther progress) to stop the mouths of all persons whatsoever, from making any reflexions upon the members of the grand Committee for their putting such a present rate upon their said Shops. And I must confess I should be here very unwilling to enter the lists, whereby to solve this objection or to give any answer thereunto, so far forth as to give the City and Company any offence therein, yet if they would please to give me leave, so far as if I were one of their present Tenants (and peradventure I have been formerly somewhat related unto the said place) I would then so scan this objection, by taking it in pieces, and off from the hinges, as that I do not question but I should make it appear, in a far different dress, and although in my answer I expect no offence to be taken on the Companies side, yet as to the City side if I make it appear, by dint of argument and by undeniable reasons: that they may afford their said Shops at a great deal cheaper rate, than at present they do; I hope then (as they are persons of honour, and intelligent agents, and so consequently men indued with reason and understanding) they will immediately fall down, and be captivated with the most sweet and harmonious voice of her powerful charms.

And here by the way, before I come directly to the matter in hand, (*viz.* to the more solid and substantial part of my present undertaking) I think it not impertinent, but rather very requisite and necessary (in order to prepare your minds unto a more gentle and easie reception of the subsequent arguments)

guments) to put you in mind and by way of remembrance to represent unto you, how that many worthy Persons, and worthy Citizens, (as well as your selves) have since the late dreadful fire (in order to the rebuilding of the City of *London*, out of a noble and publique Spirit, because they would not have it remain and lye still buried in its own Ashes, but (like the *Phoenix* out of its flames) would rather contribute their assistance and endeavours, to have it raised again with more beauty and lustre than formerly) have laid out many thousand pounds, in building of Houses and Warehouses; and other conveniencies for the accomplishment thereof: but yet when these accommodations have been built by them. What with the deadness of Trading, what with the Poverty of the Inhabitants, (as having not yet recovered their great losses, by reason of the late Conflagration) what with the inconvenience of the Scituation of the said Houses, or of the inconvenience of the building of them as not commodious and fitting for Merchants in the place where they stand, and what by reason of putting too great a rate upon them at the first, (and this is enough in all conscience alone to marr all their primary and publick intentions whatsoever, and then no marvel that they have had no better success) and the like: They have been so much blown upon, as that at last they have been glad to take what they could get in reason (which they might have had at the first) for the same, and thereby have been such considerable losers (whereas they might have been sufficient gainers) as that I do believe they have not made 4 *per Cent.* for the laying out of their Monies. And you cannot be ignorant likewise how that many hundreds of Landlords in the Country have of late years had their Farms thrown up into their hands, and their Tenants have been in arrears for Rent, some two, and some three years together, (although you endeavour to receive yours every quarter, and are the best rents in the world, were they once moderated with a *quantum meruit*) and by
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reason of the badness of Trade and Corn not yeilding a price, their said Land-lords have been constrained to take what they could get, and that sometimes hath not been the one Moiety ; and to take an extreme Course against them, hath been but a weak Refuge ; (for it was never yet known, that a Prison could work such a Miracle, as to pay Debts when the Person hath it not) and afterwards have let them to other Tenants at a far less Price, or to them again with a very considerable Abatement. The Application hereof, I leave to your worthy selves.

And here I am heartily glad, that I need not go far for a proof of this point, inasmuch as I can produce two notable and most famous Instances within the walls of your most stately and most magnificent Fabrick, for confirmation hereof : The one is of a moderate and Noble Lessee, by name Mr. *Edward Carleton*, (pray let him not be named or ranked among the precedent ones, unless it be for a President and a good Example to all those as shall hereafter arrive unto the same pitch of Honour as to be ancient Leases) who rather than he would stay for a Customer to give him 150 *l.* Fine, and 100 *l. per annum*, for one of your great Shops (which was your first Market-price) hath let it since, as I am informed, unto honest Mr. *Stephen Proctor*, for less than 40 *l. per annum*. The other Instance is of your most worthy selves, in your Noble and generous condescensions, in Letting of late, (although formerly you might have had a far better price, but it was then refused) a Shop of the same dimensions, for or near the same rate. so that from hence I may very well argue with you both wayes, *viz.* Either *à majore ad minus*, aut *à minore ad majus*, from these two great Shops, to the rest of the small shops proportionably, or else from this small and generous *Exordium*, untill you shall have passed through the whole entire Body of your *Royal Exchange*, and so by degrees happily meet again (where you so fairly began) by the same Noble and generous

rous Conclusion. And that you may the rather be excited hereunto, and not any longer suffer your said place to stand upon this tottering and sandy foundation, some of you may very well remember what a precaution and early advertisement this Honourable Court had given them by the aforesaid Authour of that Book called *Londons Nonfuch* (the which the Leasees out of the singular favour, love and respect which they bore unto his Person, or rather unto the Antient and good old cause of wrack rents, or some other good causes and considerations them thereunto moving, were pleased to stile *Londons Nonsense*.) In these words. *viz.*

Take heed lest by your Rents and Fines you build not on the Sand.

Surely he saw then something beforehand, which it seems hath since came to pass in a very great measure.

And O ! the miserable effects and most dangerous consequents in all matters and things either in Ecclesiastical or temporal affairs whatsoever, in winding and scrueing them up to the highest pitch, and it is ten to one, but in such proceedings and transactions they do marr and break all at the last : whereas were there a mediocrity and a mean used in all these concerns, things then would run in a far clearer and more Crystal Channel, and the world it self would be at a far better pass, than it is at this day.

And as I remember one of the Kings of *France* once, commanding his Secretary to write down the best single word that ever he read in his life, he immediately (in obedience to his Majesties pleasure) writes down this word, *viz. MODERATION.*

And this is no more nor no less than what we are all enjoined and commanded upon sacred record, in these plain and intelligible words, *viz.* Let your Moderation be known unto all Men, &c. And truly for all men who are intelligent agents, *et ergo* rational Creatures, to be modest, humble and courteous in all their affairs and transactions whatsoever, is a

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most laudable, commendable and a most excellent vertue (like Dame nature her self, who is moderate in all her desires, and when over charged we do but put her out of her course and disturb her, and she takes it as a very great affront and injury offered unto her worthy self) And how many Persons are there now at this day, yet surviving within the limits and territories of his Majesties Realms and Dominions, who were formerly in Power and Authority, and for want of making use of this thing called Moderation, did mar and break all their designs and enterprizes whatsoever, and did split themselves upon the Rock of Extremity and Presumption, as little dreaming there might come a day of an Accompt? and if a man had been inspired from Heaven in those dayes, with the Spirit of Prophecy, (although many times by natural reason, one may give a shrewd guess of subsequent consequences, by precedent circumstances) and had gone to them and told them: Gentlemen, my humble request unto you is, that you would please to let your Moderation be known unto all Men, for my Lord the Kings most Excellent Majesty is near at hand, I warrant you such a Person would have been esteemed most ridiculous, impertinent, fanatical and contemptible.

But if they had taken it into their serious thoughts and considerations, and thereupon had embraced Moderation, they would not have suffered so much reproach & contempt in their honour and reputation, as some of them (I do pity them with all my heart) have done since his Majesties Restauration. And for any person whatsoever now adays to make any reflection upon any particular person, by reason of his former in advertency and miscarriage herein, it is an unworthy and inbecoming action, and sure I am, no sober mind would do it; inasmuch as there is an act of indemnity passed by King, Lords and Commons to have all these things buried in the embers of Oblivion and forgetfulness, and that they would have no distinction of Persons now used, save only
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what consists with the Longitude and Latitude of a good Christian, a good Subject, and a good Citizen; and in the Country, a good Common-Wealths man, that is such a one as doth study the common good and benefit of his Neighbours, and of all the parts adjacent where he shall or may survive. And because many of these Men (who otherwise very intelligent) may be now heartily sorry for their mistakes, and if in case they were in the same capacity, they would never run again the same extremes, and I could wish (with all my heart) that those books that are now in print, and suffered to be sold (which do so much reflect upon these mens Credit and Reputation) were not tollerated, inasmuch as it is (in my slender apprehension) a direct breach of the said Statute and act of Grace which doth so strictly prohibit and forbid the same.

But all this is as yet besides the matter in hand, and not directly to the point (although I hope they may be of some use and benefit in some cases), for the strength of the Objection lyes herein; *viz.* That you have laid out so much money already upon the rebuilding of your Royal Exchange, and that in reason you ought to have so much interest for the same by way of improvement, or else you might as well have thrown away your Money into the Streets, or have sent it into the Island of *terra incognita* for a venture, and it would have turned to the same accompt, so that now I must proceed in a rational order and method whereby to convince your Reasons and understandings in this case, or else all that I have hitherto laboured in, will turn to no Accompt, as to my present design. Wherefore in answer thereunto I will lay down this position for a general maxime (for you will find it universally true) *viz.*

That all Cities, Corporations, Bodies politick, Market-Towns and the like, have all of them (more or less) their publique Places, and Publick-Houses built (such as Halls, Courts of Judicature, Market Houses, Store-houses, Ex-

changes and the like) for the Honour, State, Benefit, convenience, Profit, Advantage and Accommodation of the same, and all these publick places built upon the publick charges, have as certain (and though to outward appearance somewhat insensible) and constant revenue and allowance (especially in great Cities) belonging unto them in order to their defraying the said publick and necessary charges, as any Landlord whatsoever, that hath laid out 500 *l.* in Building of an house and thereupon doth receive some 30 40 or 50 *pounds per annum* as a yearly rent for the same.

This being premised, I shall now bring it to the matter in hand, by a particular instance, *viz.* That this famous and most Magnificent structure of the Royal Exchange, is one of the most necessary and most publick places that is built within your Metropolitane City of *London*, although there are several others, as *Guild-Hall*, *The Chamber of London*, *The Court of Aldermen*, *your Market-Houses*, *your Store-houses*, *your Courts of Judicature*, *the two Counters*, *your Prison for Felons*, and the like which are of the same import, and pray where is your visible and apparent revenue (whereby to re-imburse you) that you do receive for them? and yet notwithstanding you have so ordered the matter as that all these places (and that not without very good reason, as being essentially necessary and requisite as to the flourishing Estate of your City for the future) are already built. And that you shall be as certainly and as surely reimbursed, and that with a most considerable advantage for all your cost and charges so expended; I shall make it clearly appear in manner and form as followeth, *viz.*

That it is as requisite and necessary (but more especially in so famous and so renowned a City as the City of *London*) that all such publick places should be built, and kept constantly in repair at the publick charges, in expectation of the future benefit and advantage which the whole body should receive thereby, as it is requisite and necessary, that a Shop
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keeper should lay out 500 l. in staple commodities, whereby to furnish his shop in expectation of a future trade, or for a Merchant to freight out a ship to sea with the Manufactures of *England*, upon his own accompt, in expectation to receive a considerable advantage thereby, at his safe, speedy, and happy return. And now whereas you have built this place for the honour of His *Majesty*, so you have likewise made it more especially, and in particular, for the accommodation of the Merchants, and all others who have converse, commerce and traffick with them, for the advance of your Trade, for the enriching of your members, and still as they do thrive, flourish & grow rich, it is ten to one but you do find them out, and call upon them for Aldermen, and for Sheriffs, and where one holds there is many goes off by the way of fines; and here is that secret mistery and insensible revenue before intimated, brought to light (besides many other wayes and means you have to bring yearly great Sums into your Publick Treasury) & although you do not, nor should not receive so much quarterly, by the way of Rent, yet you do constantly and surely receive as much, if not more than the interest of your moneys so laid out, by the way of Fines. And pray what are all these Fines leavyed upon the Inhabitants and rich members of your City (and in other Corporations and Bodies Politick) but to defray all the Publick and necessary charges, upon this very accompt; and this will still hold and continue, so long as your City remains and continues in the like good and flourishing condition, which the Lord of his infinite mercy grant may be until time shall be no more, *Amen.*

Come now let us reason together (pray pardon this familiar though modest expression, in regard I must confess I have that high value and respect for that which we call Reason, that I am unwilling to move forward one step farther in any concern whatsoever, than I am guided and directed by the light thereof) I will now take it for granted, that upon the precedent considerations, you would have rebuilt the

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Royal Exchange, if you had not had one Tenant to have inhabited within the walls thereof. And if so, I would only beg the favour to ask you these questions, *Viz.* would you not have built it with Pillars? would you not have covered it with Lead? would you not have paved it with Marble? would you not have built it with stone? would you not have erected their Majesties Effigies in the front, as also the Effigies of the first Founder? would you not have made such a stately Tower as is now Erected? and the like; and these are the things which make such a noise in your building, and in the report of the people, and which do arise unto so vast a Sum in your books of Accompt. Now I say, put all these things (here mentioned) together, and calculate the charge thereof as near as possibly you can, & charge all these unto the Publick Accompt, and when this is done, then compute the remaining charge which you have built for the accommodation of shop-keepers within the said place, and then leavy their proportions to re-imburse you for the interest of your money so laid out, and for the principal also in due time.

And now as to those walls of Brick, wherein your Tenants are inclosed by some mens computation (I must acknowledge my self no competent Judge therein; as being neither Bricklayer, Stone-cutter, Mason, nor Carpenter) with all the incident charges appertaining thereunto, and which you have made for the accomodation of your said Tenants, could not cost you above 10000 pounds; and as these stately and magnificent adjuncts before-mentioned, and wherewith your Tenants are environed and surrounded, is no part of the building, at least no part thereof so far as to be charged to the Inhabitants accompts, but to the account currant, *viz.* the Publick Account.

And here by the way, had one hundred of the present inhabitants, during the time they were in *Gresham Colledge*, but made application to Alderman *Backwell*, and have taken that

that piece of ground just before your *Royal Exchange*, although they had given 500 *l. per Annum* only for the ground Rent, which would have been 5 *l.* a piece, and after that had laid down fifty pounds a piece, to be laid out in building, which would have amounted to 5000 pounds, what a stately place might they have built therewith the said money for their own accommodations; I will assure you far beyond the Accommodation they have at present within your Territories, and you have charged the place with at least 50000 pounds, for the inhabitants to work out, and to pay you the Interest of your money. And you have not rested here neither, (I do not speak here to any of you personally, and in particular, but only as you are now assembled in Court) but it is said that you have made your Tenants pay by way of overplus, for their Windows, for their Stalls, and for the backs and footpaces of your said Shops; and whoever heard, that houses and shops were ever let by Lease or yearly Rent, without the essential properties and necessary adjuncts and qualifications of Doors and Windows, thereunto appertaining and belonging; but they were not put upon any such stratagem, by reason that they did build and rely so much upon your Clemency, Moderation and Indulgence towards them.

But I hope these precedent arguments before mentioned, as to this insensible Revenue, and as to the flourishing estate of your *Royal City*, will for the future take some impression upon all the hearts of this honourable Court, whereby they may answer the desires and expectations of all their immediate Tenants (who are concerned herein) to all intents and purposes.

And now as to the flourishing and thriving estate of your Metropolitan City, I may very well compare it unto a large, pleasant and fertile Park (and for methods and illustrations sake, we will call it the Park of *Englands Nonfuch*) out of which, in seven years time, is rouzed out of the brakes,

Deer

and hunted out of the woodsthereof, many an overgrown Deer into the Chamber of *London*, and when he comes there, if he bleeds freely, before the Lord keepers of the said Park (either in spring or fall, or about or near the time the Sun enters the Equinoctial) it is a very great sign that he is fat within, and of a sanguine and healthful Constitution, and the several ounces there taken from him, are preserved in publick store, not only as a worthy relique, to preserve his future remembrance, but also of sovereign use and benefit, to be expended upon all occasions (here is your publique revenue and publick charges within a very small compass, very happily and opportunely met and joyned together; and by my consent they should never again be parted or divorced, but for some extraordinary and special occasion given for the same) towards the continual repair and keeping up of the inclosures, the Pales and the Walls of the said Park, in order to the greater security and preservation, for the future, of the rest of the Herd.

But if this will not do, and if you are still resolved to charge upon your Tenants the whole stress and weight of the building (which I am afraid is so heavy as that they will never be able long to support themselves under it) then I will adventure to make one step farther with you, (whereby to alleviate the present charge of your said Tenants) and that is, by an humble proposal unto this honourable Court, *viz.* That you would be pleased to procure an act of Common Council (which your several Charters and Priviledges for your Liberties, for all necessary charges will bear you out in) whereby to levy 20 or 40 *s. per annum* (which will be but a very inconsiderable charge unto them, though in the whole will amount unto a very considerable summe) upon every eminent Merchant and Broker (who do daily frequent your *Royal Exchange*, and there deal for thousands and ten thousands in a week, and pay nothing for their Station) rather than levy the whole charge upon the present (and God knows
many

many of them very poor) inhabitants. But if in case an act of Common Councel will not reach them, then to be sure an Act of Parliament will do it (and that effectually) to all intents and purposes.

But you will now object and say, (especially on the Companies side) That according to these maxims, reasons and considerations the City of *London*, receives more benefit and advantage by far, as to this insensible revenue here discussed and described, by the rebuilding of the City of *London* and in particular the Royal Exchange within the said place, and by the constant, flourishing and thriving estate thereof, then the Mercers do, and yet they are both equally concerned as to the charge of the rebuilding thereof.

In answer hereunto I must acknowledge (and ingeniously confess) the truth hereof in the affirmative, and the truth of it is, by all the Rhetorick in my budget and by all the arguments and reasons that I can rally up, and muster together, I am not able to solve this objection, with satisfaction to any rational man whatsoever. Wherefore if the City and Company would agree (and it is great pity that such an Antient Society, and such co-partners who have lived so long together in Amity and Unity should now fall out) to put it to the Vote, in the next Common-Hall holden for the City of *London*, they should have both my hands (as an unworthy member thereof) that the City should contribute two thirds, and the Right Worshipful Company of Mercers one third toward the charge of the Building, and when this is done, that they should both (as co-partners still) be equally concerned as to the rents, incomes, revenues, and profits of the same.

And here by the way although neither of you do receive a proportionable revenue and income in your way and method (and by the measures as you have taken for the same according to your primary expectations, yet behold here is Honour, Credit and reputation enough in the case to supply that defect, for now since the rebuilding of your mo

stately and most Magnificent structure (for as to the whole these are proper and deserving Epithites, and as to the accommodation for Traders, I could wish it were so in every part and parcel thereof) you my Lord Mayor the representative Body of the City of *London*, and you the worthy members of this grand Committee, the representative Body of the right Worshipful Company of Mercers, are now esteemed and reputed as famous for your zeal & care and for your expedition in order to the accomplishment of the said building, as the worthy Sir *Thomas Gresham* was formerly (and ever will be as long as your City stands) who was the first Founder thereof; and truly this is a very great honour indeed, for how many persons hath there been in the World, who have done many Worthy and most Noble acts in order to perpetuate their names unto posterity, and to leave a good example behind them, that others might be induced and encouraged to follow and tread in their steps, and as I have been informed a very worthy Person of this Nation, who did formerly proffer (which would have cost him many thousand pounds) to finish upon his own cost and charges, the Quadrangle of *Christ Church Colledge* in *Oxford*, upon condition that he might be made ~~be~~ but Co-founder, which it seems was such an high punctillio of Honour, Credit and Reputation esteemed by the Heads of the said *Colledge* (and of which they were so tender and careful) as that they would by no means admit thereof, inasmuch as by such an act and by such an enrollment upon record, would mount him upon the Wings of Everlasting fame unto posterity, to be coequal with Cardinal *Woolsey* who was the first Founder thereof.

And now if some Worthy and Wealthy Person (especially some rich Batchelor of the City of *London*) would lay out so much money as to make those alterations in the Royal Exchange (and the charges would not amount unto a very great summe) in the same manner and form as is before described, I am very certainly assured he would be esteemed
and

and reputed as famous and as worthy unto Posterity among all persons that should see the same, but more especially among the Merchants of *London*, and the Inhabitants that should hereafter survive and flourish therein, as any publick spirited Person hath been formerly upon any Account whatsoever. And here I will not divine, but I have a strong perswasion within my Breast, that some worthy Person or other will please (either sooner or later) to take the Premises into his private and most serious consideration: But if not, I say still for the City of *London* (like a strong Noun Substantive, such as *Rex* or *Regnum*, which standeth by it self) to lay out twenty or thirty thousand pounds, as a strong, solid and substantial Foundation, in order for an Accommodation for the future thriving and flourishing Estate and Condition of their said City, which after must be laid for the Superstructure and Top-stone of such a Noble and Magnificent Building, is no more with them, than for some of their *Royal Exchange* Tenants, when they have sold a rich poynt of *Venice* to some persons of quality, of a hundred pound price, and after that to give a little Paper and Pack-thread to bind it up into their bargain.

So that now should you at length by rational means be perswaded (which is not as yet too late) to make upon your own Cost and Charges (without standing in competition with any other most worthy Person) such convenient Alterations as are here mentioned, *viz.*

1. To build out the four Corners of your *Royal Exchange* (which now standeth in Nooks) that so there may be a perfect Quadrangle both below and above stairs within the said place, which said Alterations will be altogether as gracefull to the two Fronts as they are now: But if a Workman should endeavour to perswade you to the contrary, (although perhaps he could give but a slender Reason for the same) yet one would think in reason that Gracefulness in this place should not come in competition with the con-

veniency of a Trade: And I dare swear, that these Gracefull works, not of Uniformity but Deformity, hath so marred the Interest of your Outward Pawns above stairs, as to an Equality of Rents, so as that you had better have given two or three thousand Pounds out of your Publick Stock, than to have permitted them to be built after the same manner as they are at this day.

2. To take down the Middle walls above stairs, and not the Roof (which peradventure you would think too great a charge) and build it upon Pillars, with deep Shops on both sides, as formerly described, and also to take down the walls below stairs, and there erect Pillars in lieu thereof, with Shops onely of one side, as before mentioned, where the Bricks you take down, would go near to countervail your said Charge; which being done, would bring you in a most certain Revenue of at least 4000 *l. per annum*, and every person also contented and well satisfied, and would think himself also most reasonably used. And if you should object, That you could not afford the Place at such a Rent, (and will have no respect, nor give any grains of Allowance unto the precedent Arguments) the next seven years Leases, if Trading should flow in upon them, they would as willingly then (when they are all settled and established in the said place) pay you 6000 *l. per annum*, as they will now pay you Four.

And upon such Alterations it will be objected, that the present stairs of the *Royal Exchange*, will be such a break in the Quadrangle below stairs, as will much impair the Gracefulness of the said place: Unto the which I answer, I have a very convenient and commodious Salvo for that also; but that is too tender a part at present to be here discussed, by reason there must be a particular Demonstration upon the very place, to satisfy any rational man of the convenience thereof.

But if no Alterations in the least Measure should ensue here-

hereupon, then as to the *quantum meriti* of your present Shops, as to matter of Rents: I answer in Manner and Form as followeth, *viz.*

That in consideration of the many preceding Inconveniences, and the many unavoidable Circumstances that do and will always attend the said place. Your Shops *re vera & bona fide*, cannot possibly be valued (especially were an honest Jury upon their Oaths to give in their Verdict in the Case) at more than 10 *l. per annum*, and whoever hath formerly given, or shall hereafter give more, I will not say, it is not for want of Ignorance, (for that would be a little too gross) but I will say, it is either out of Inadvertency, as not considering what they undertake, or else out of Necessity, as being bred up as Apprentices in your *Royal Exchange*, and know not (poor Souls) how to provide for themselves elsewhere for a future livelihood.

And now as to this insensible (and not so much perceived and taken notice of) Revenue for your discharge of all these publick places, and doth so much depend upon the future thriving and flourishing Condition of your Metropolitan City; I say in answer thereunto, I will still stand my ground, and will not move one step from the point in hand by way of Retreat, (unless I am overcome by might, or rather by better Arguments to the contrary) but will still hold it out as a strong City of Refuge, and as an advantageous Post, or a strong Tower of Defence, against all opposition whatsoever. And now in the close of all, and to wind it up in a small bottom, I will make such a clear demonstration thereof unto you all, by two most famous Instances and Similitudes, taken from those two grand Luminaries of Heaven, and which are there fixed by the God of Nature, (the Supream and Superintendent Being of all created Beings whatsoever) for the use, benefit, service and advantage of his little *Μικροκοσμος*, or this *ὁ ἀνθρώπος*, his Creature Man; the one to rule the Day, and the other to govern the Night:
And

And first for the Sun, this vast fiery and Elementary Body, this all-glorious Lamp of Heaven (which as the Scripture phrases it, *cometh forth of his Chamber like a Bridegroom, and rejoyceth as a strong Man to run his race,*) which consisteth in Light, Life, Heat and Motion, and by its most wonderful secret Power, and insensible Faculties, it doth produce the same most admirable Effects, unto all Creatures both Animal and Inanimal whatsoever, upon the face of the whole Earth; and the nearer and nearer it doth approach unto us, (within our Horizon) the more vigour, strength and power it doth still retain, in order to the accomplishment of all those Noble Ends and Purposes for the which it was first created, and by reason of his powerfull Influence over the whole Earth, he doth never rest Day nor Night, untill such time as he hath enriched the same with a plentiful Crop, and all things therein contained with a Green, thriving and flourishing Condition; so that from hence (by the wise Disposer of all things under the Sun) we have the Spring and the Fall, we have Summer and Winter, Seed-time and Harvest, and all things that may conduce unto our present and future Happiness whatsoever: And this is a true Representation and similitude of Life and Death, as to things Temporal, Mortality, Resurrection, and Immortality, as to things spiritual and Eternal: And so in like manner, in respect of the other most glorious and Nocturnal Light, this vast, Elementary, moist and liquid Body of the Moon (which as Astrologers do say, is above three hundred times bigger than the whole Terrestrial Universe) and hath so powerfull an Influence upon the vast Ocean, so that as we see by daily Experience, as she increases in Grandeur, Neptune himself is also constrained to move forward, and to give way, and to increase also, and so gradually till she comes to her full strength, then the Surges and Billowes of the Sea do arise to that height, as many times it overflowses the banks of the main Ocean, and this is that which we call our Spring-tides.

So

So that we see this vast and liquid Body (like as Fire doth produce Fire, and Water by the help of an Engine doth draw up Water) by its secret and attractive virtue (infused thereinto by an Almighty power) commands the very Ocean it self, and likewise sets bounds and limits to the proud waves and surges thereof, (which many times are much higher than the Land) by its most powerfull strength, influence and operation.

And this is a more than probable Argument to be given for the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea, which hath startled and stumbled so many Persons, who have been upon the Quest to find out the true Cause and Reason thereof. And these two Instances alone, together with the Rainbow being taken in, which will make up a Trinity of Celestial Attestators, are enough to confute (those purblind and blear-ey'd Masters of Reason, who can see no further than their dim-sighted corporeal Eyes will permit them) the proudest and stoutest Atheist in the world.

And they may as well say, that they made themselves, and were the primary Cause of their own Beings, as to say, all these things and many more (which would bee too tedious here to insert) were first produced by the power, strength and vigour onely of Natures Operation: For how can these men tell, that if Nature alone did produce them, Nature might not some time or other reduce them again unto their first Principles, or else into some other Form and Fashion? (for Nature sometimes hath its prodigious and monstrous Births;) And how could they tell that the Rainbow (Gods established Covenant with Mankind) should continue and appear in the Heavens for so many Generations? But all these things are so fixed and determined by the most High, that they cannot do otherwise than they are appointed, and if the Sun stand still or go backwards at any time, it is in Obedience to the Command of the Supreme Creator.

I pray

I pray pardon this small digression of mine, in regard as I was entring thereupon some of the Atheistical notions did so boldly accost me, that I could do no less then give them a broad side, on purpose to send them back again into the Land of forgetfulness; that so they might no more rise up in pride, vain-glory, and presumption in denying the good Providence and Wisdom of Almighty God in these and the like cases, but to proceed as by way of similitude in these two instances, as to those ends and purposes now mentioned, so I say in like manner, as to this most Famous and most renowned City of *London*, so long as you have peace within your Walls, Prosperity within your Borders, Plenty within your Streets, Health within your Pallaces; no Forreign nor Domestique jarrs to obstruct your Trade at home, nor your Negotiations abroad (especially among your Merchants which are the great wheelles or springs in a Watch that sets all the little wheels in their orderly motions) Mercy and Truth meeting together, Righteousness and Peace embracing each other, I say by the powerful influence of all these precedent circumstances being met and joyned together, it is almost impossible but that your City of *London*, (unless our heaven provoking sins from time to time interveneing shall forbid the banes) should continue in a thriving and flourishing condition and thereupon how many thousand pounds come flowing yearly (like the overflowing of the River *Nilus*) into the Chamber of *London*, and at this insensible vast and most Noble revenue, the Citizens of *London* and the Inhabitants thereof are not in the least measure offended, but do rather rejoyce and wish you much joy thereof, and much good may you do with it, and they would be glad with all their hearts every Mothers child of them, to arrive at the same pitch of honour as to come to be Lord Major, Mr. Alderman, Mr. Sheriff, Mr. Common-Council-Man and the like. And now and then to open a vein in the body Politick, for the preservation of the whole is as requisite and necessary as som-

times

times to open a vein in the body natural, whereby to remove some impediment and obstruction in the circulation of the blood, that so afterwards in its perambulation it may run with more strength and vigor, and return again unto its former and regular proceedings. And I may truly say of this antient and Renowned City of *London* (and it reaches all cases, persons and places whatsoever) according to the Poet.

*Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos,
Tempora si fuerint nubila solus eris.*

Ovid

And thus have I done with my main and principal design which were my primary intentions and resolutions in the publication hereof.

And although this small piece is not adorned with all those goodly and excellent properties as might be expected from a person of more than ordinary and Scholastick improvement, upon any matter or Subject whatsoever as he should undertake which are these, *viz.*

1. To speak modestly, and in the words of truth and Sobriety.
2. To speak pertinent to the matter in hand (without too many circumlocutions and florid expressions before he comes to the point) and therein also to be very succinct.
3. To back all his positions, and assertions with the prevailing and powerfull arguments of solid and substantial reason, that so all persons may be constrained to acquiesce in her determinations, as not being able to resist the strength and power thereof.

As to the first of these I am conscious to my self that I have not swerved therefrom, and as for the two latter wherein I have been short, you must impute it to my mean education and slender abilities and not to my well wishes in the performance of the same, and yet herein I have endeavoured as

G

much

much as in me lyes, & as the matter would bear, to make them as succinct as I could, and I am sure I have represented things so plain, so obvious and perspicuous (and upon the square) to any intelligent person, so as that he that runs may read: If at least he dare but make use of his reason, in these Temporal and humane affairs, as well as those most Heroick, Universal and Publick spirited men of this age (to their Everlasting praise, Honour and perpetual remembrance and Renown be it spoken) have done (although by some persons they are also (the more is the pity) most bitterly inveighed and railed against for their so doing) in matters of Religion.

And were it not besides the matter in hand (and likewise more proper to another function than my own,) I could here willingly give these Gentlemen of the black and russet guard, half a dozen good smart blowes (which should stick close to their sides) for their Satyrical invectives and railings, both in Press and Pulpit; against these most Noble and Christian like *Bergans* who have universal Love, Charity and good will for all persons and of all perswasions whatsoever (I am afraid they do much fall short, of this antient Catholick and Apostolick Temper,) and who do see more with one of their ^{eyes} reason (having the eyes of their understandings thereby enlightened) than ten thousand of them, who, although they have (*sicut homines*) their discerning and intellectual faculties (and both their Ocular senses as to their corporeal parts) yet do at this day so much stumble (in Charity I must, and am obliged to pity them notwithstanding) and grope in the dark.

But I hope when this thick vail of ignorance (more than *Egyptian* darkness) is taken off from the minds and understandings of men (by these Worthy persons even now hinted, and which are in present Communion with the Church of *England*) and that they may once be brought to that pass, as to see with their own and not other mens eyes, then those watery Clouds of error, superstition and Idolatry, and all those airy

aiery notions and most strange, horrid and irrational speculations, whose natural tendency is more to make men vitious than vertuous, and which have so long pestered the true Church, ~~and~~ (which to enumerate would make a large volumn of it self) will by degrees evaporate, and like mists and foggs before the rising Sun will in a short time vanish and fall to the ground: and that it may be in some good measure accomplished in our dayes, let all Sober and Rational Christians (who are enjoyned at all times to stand upon their guard, and to be ready to give a reason of their Faith, and of that good hope that is in them with meekness and fear) to insert this into their Litany and daily prayers, *viz.*

Exurgat Deus et veritatis dissipentur inimici.

And now, what will become of this small peice, and how this innocent Dove will be treated now it is out my hands, (I having no such prospect in my thoughts, nor yet in the least measure pretending thereunto) I am not able here to predict, although I presume this I may safely say (*secundum hominis rationem*) that it will meet with many a blustering storm and cruel Tempests before it finds any rest or harbour for the sole of its foot, and before it return again (by a fair brisk and prosperous gale) with an Olive branch in its mouth.

But this one thing I can certainly assure you, (and I presume it is an auspicious *Omen*, and I hope it doth amount almost unto a sure and certain presage) *viz.* That although your present Authour, is a person naturally of very mean and slender abilities, (and not set of with those blandishments and grand auxillaries, and Artificial helps of Scholastick endowments and accomplishments, which do usually raise men to something in the world) and thereupon altogether unable to expose himself to publick view, wherein he must undergo the various censures of all Critical persons whatsoever: Yet when these present notions did first enter, and cast Anchor within his private cogitations, and afterwards having seriously

ously and soberly weighed, examined, pondered and considered all circumstances whatsoever relating thereunto, and casting up the summe total, he found upon the whole matter, That they being of such universal benefit and advantage, (if they were once put in Execution) and of such publick tendency, as well for the Honour of the King, for the Honour of *Great Britain*, the Honour of your Royal City, (as being the chief Residence of Sacred Majesty) as also for the Relief of those many honest and good Persons, who are at present under great Pressures, and are not able to extricate themselves out of the same, but by the interposition of your Power and Authority, and of your Clemency and Indulgence towards them: I say, for these and the like considerations, he found such a Consternation in his mind, such a confusion in his thoughts, such a perplexity within his breast, as that he could not receive any real satisfaction or quiet within himself, untill he had put his hand to the Plough, *viz.* his Pen to paper, whereby to bring them into such a decent and orderly Method, fitting to be published and presented unto this Honourable Court: And when I said for the Honour of *Great Britain*, methinks I find such an Emphasis in the words, as that I am not able to pass any further without making an Halt, or some small Retreat, (and that by way of Paraphrase upon the words,) whereby to leave unto Posterity, *viz.* to the Inhabitants of this Island, (but more especially to all those who shall have the perusal hereof) something of Remembrance, whereby to excite them all unto a most real, and a most unfeigned Gratitude and Thankfulness unto the Supreme Monarch of Heaven and Earth, that their Lots are fallen in so good an Inheritance, as to be born within the Limits, Confines, Territories and Dominions thereof.

For as to this Island of *Great Britain*, (this sure I am) I may safely and truly say, That it may properly be called *The Phoenix of the World*, upon these and the like subsequent Considerations, *viz.*

I. For

1. For the Constitution of its Government, (pray observe, this is the Foundation-stone) for the scituation of the Place, for Conveniency of Trade, and for the Commodities therein produced, for the Encouragement of all Merchants for Exportation and Importation, for its strength against all Forreign Invasions, as being environed with the sea like the City of *Venice*, whose Motto is,

*Thus free from all Alarms,
I rest in Neptunes Arms.*

(Many Princes and People, who live upon the main Continent, how glad would they be of such an Accommodation, who are in perpetual Fear and Jeopardy every day, by incursions from their Neighbours ;) As also for the Temper of the Climate, for the Valour of its Subjects, for the Disposition of the People, *Cum multis aliis quæ nunc*, &c. and (which is the Top-stone of this most stately structure,) for the most pure, and most spiritual Worship of God, that is here exhibited and enjoyed, of any Nation at this day under the sun. And when I said, for the Constitution of its Government, there is again such an Emphasis in those words, that I must make a double Retreat, *viz.* under a Mild and Gentle, and not a Tyrannical Prince: Whereas in many other Countreys, their Monarchs do say,

Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas, &c.

But blessed be God, in this Island we are not in the same Condition, but we can say, according to that generally received and known Maxim in the Law, Our Gracious King by the Constitution of the Government it self *can doe no Wrong*, (it being beneath the State and Majesty of a Prince to execute any of his Laws in his own Person) but if any wrong be done, in matters of State, the Councel, and if in Matters of Law, the Judges, the subordinate Magistrates, the Justices, and all other inferiour Officers, (whose Power

is onely derivative from this Fountain) are to give an Account for Male-administration, and by this ancient and most famous Triple League of King, Lords and Commons (God grant that it may never be broken nor dissolved) this Trinity of words, and their Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity (which with Reverence be it spoken) is a fair Representation and Illustration of the Trinity and Unity of the three sacred Persons in the highest Heavens : And although they are not one in Nature and Essence (as is alledged and acknowledged by some, and is also an Article of their Faith, as to those three Divine Persons,) which is altogether impossible, as having their distinct Beings, their distinct Offices, their distinct Names, and although in so near a Conjunction, consist of many distinct Persons; yet they are one in mutual Consent and Agreement, (and here the *Socinians* will tell you, that three distinct Persons, either Divine, Angelical, or Humane, to be made one in Nature and Essence, is altogether impossible, and will never be made out to any rational Man while the world stands;) and for any Person to infer from hence, that because they are one in mutual Consent and Agreement, therefore they are co-ordinate in Power and Authority, I presume is a very great Mistake, and to say, that the Kings most Excellent Majesty is, *Major singulis, sed Minor Universis*, is an Expression of the same validity and import; for then it would unavoidably follow, that we have at this day in our Nation three Supreams; whereas in Reason there cannot possible be (unless we should root out, eradicate and subvert the common and in-bred Notion of Mankind,) but one Supream. But suppose it had some colour of Truth in it, (which we will admit for Arguments sake) that they are co-ordinate in Power by virtue of this Unity, yet it is onely in the Legislative Power; and here also for matter of advice and counsel onely, for they are called the great Council of the Nation, and they are summoned by the Kings
Writ

Writ, and do fit, not as long as they please; but *durante Regis beneplacito*; and for the Executive power, all the Laws of *England* run in his Majesties Name, and a breach of them are deemed and reputed a breach of his Majesties Laws: And although you may say also concerning his Vice-royes, Ambassadors, and Deputy-Lieutenants, that in some sence they are co-ordinate in Power (by reason they do many things in as uncontrollable a manner, as if the King himself were personally present,) and an affront offered to them, is an affront offered to the King himself, for it terminates in him, inasmuch as they do represent the Kings Person and Authority: But since these rational Demonstrations border too much upon the *Socinian* Tenents (which in this and other precedent Ages have been by most men esteemed and reputed heterodox) I must forbear. But yet this I say, by vertue of this Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity, *viz.* this mutual Oneness and Agreement in Consent one with another, this Constitution and Foundation hath continued stedfast and immoveable for so many hundred years, (save onely of late years, by a most strange and unheard of Catastrophe, and by a most dismal and prodigious Interval;) and God grant that it may still continue to run in the same Channel, rather than in a worse, untill *Shiloh* come, &c.

And now my ever Honoured, most Noble, and my much esteemed good Lord, and you the worthy Knights, Gentlemen and Citizens, Members of this Grand Committee, although this new-born and tender Infant (for some Reasons inducing me thereunto) comes to wait on you, in this naked and unexpected Dress, *viz. incognito*, and thereupon not attended with that formal and accustomed Ceremony, (too often used in this and the like Cases, the more is the pity) of Espousing parties to second his honest and plain-hearted design, yet if this tender Babe (by all the Circumstances and Arguments herein contained) be not able to
 speak

ſpeak for it ſelf, and to plead its own Cauſe, then let all the Concerns thereof, henceforward and for ever fall to the ground; but if it ſhall ſo far prevail, as to contribute any thing towards the Relief of thoſe Perſons for whom it was firſt deſigned, (and of whom you have here a particular Catalogue,) I have my deſire. For, as according to our common and proverbial ſaying, viz. *We are not all born to be Rich*, ſo on the other hand, which is of a far more ſaving and univerſal tendency, *Non nobis ſolum nati ſumus*.

And inasmuch as I can expect no Conſideration or Gratitude from any particular Man, or from any number or Society of men, for my pains in Writing, or Expence in Printing this preſent Addreſs to you of this Honourable Court, ſo ſhall I be willing to reſt ſatisfied and contented in this, viz. That it was for a general and publick Good; and therefore I ſhall place it (as you ought, *de jure*, in my ſlender apprehenſions, according to the precedent Reaſons, but with a Reſerve alwayes to your more accurate and diſcerning Judgements, the Charge of your *Royal Exchange*) viz. to the publick Accompt, and that in ſure and certain hopes alſo (for I will ſtill run parallel with you) that in proceſs of time, it may pay both Principal and Intereſt, (only yours is certain, and mine uncertain, but *dum ſpiro ſpero*,) and in the Concluſion may with an Over-plus turn ſomething of Advantage unto your Authors accompt.

In the mean while, if it do not at preſent answer the Expectations and Deſires of thoſe poor Perſons, who doe ſtill wait, and expect with patience ſome Relief from your Clemency and Indulgence, yet notwithstanding I ſhall alwayes heartily pray for the continual peace, Proſperity, and flouriſhing Eſtate of your Metropolitan City, and in particular for all your Tenants and preſent Inhabitants (many whereof are my worthy Friends and Acquaintance) of your *Royal Exchange*; but I will aſſure you, (if you will pleaſe to pardon my preſent preſumption, in ſo much tiring your patience

tience in perusal of this Memorial) I shall never trouble you nor my self, nor any succeeding Committee, upon this or the like Account. So committing you all to the constant and continual Care, Conduct and Protection of the most High, wishing that all your Debates and Consultations henceforward, may be agreeable and consonant unto that which is a Spark and Ray of that Divine Beauty and Lustre, who is the Source and Fountain of all Rectitude and Perfection, viz. Reason, and that all your future Proceedings and Transactions, here in this lower and Terrestrial Sphear, may be according to the orderly, constant, and regular Motions of the Cœlestial Bodies in the Superiour Orb: And that all your Edicts henceforward may be (like the Laws and Statutes of Heaven it self, to all the Sons and Daughters of Men,) of most sovereign and saving Use, and of universal Benefit and Advantage, unto all those who shall or may be concerned in them, but more especially and in particular at this present conjuncture, unto all the present Inhabitants (*& de futuro*, for all those who shall there actually succeed,) within the walls of your *Royal Exchange*, (for these, and these onely are the Men, which must repair, sustain, uphold, defend and keep up the future Credit, Reputation and Honour of the said place.)

And now to conclude all in a short Parable, (for Parables many times, and in some Cases, have taken as deep an Impression, if not more, than a plainer Demonstration) to be perused by you at your leisures, (I fear I have already too much intrenched upon your Patience in the perusal of this present Memorial.) And we will call it, *The Parable of the Leases Leaguer, and a Description of the Sub and Outward Pawn Tenants Camp*: So that, Whereas I do perceive, that these Civil and Intestine Divisions, Wars, Animosities and Contentions among the contesting Parties, the Domestick Inhabitants of your Pallace Royal, are still like to continue many Summers Campagne; for the Drums do yet daily

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found

found in my ears, and *ad arma, ad arma, insonuit buccina*, for new Voluntiers, whereby to re-inforce their Armies, unless you Right Honourable, and you Right Worshipfull, who are the proper and onely Mediators in this Case, (by reason you can turn the scales at any time) do interpose by your Power, Grandeur and Authority, and to declare who have been and are still the Aggressors: For it seems they have all referr'd themselves, and will acquiesce in your Determinations, as appears by their several humble Petitions unto you in that behalf: So that *London*, this famous City of *London*, (being the most convenient and commodious) is the place assigned for the Congress of all the Plenipotentiaries from their several Principals, upon that Account: And if wishes would avail, or turn any thing to Account, I could here make it my cordial Option, that this were the place also assigned for the Congress of the Deputies, Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries of all those contesting Parties, which are at present at so great a variance among the Princes of *Christendome*, and that his Majesty of *Great Britain*, (Heavens prosper and preserve him) were the sole Moderator and Umpire in all their Cases; and because I did perceive, that by reason of the remote distance that is at present between the Moderators and these Persons before mentioned: And here for Illustrations sake, we will now draw our Scene *Colen*, and all the Sub-Tenants, and Outward Pawn-Tenants, encamped and intrenched about the said City, Suburbs and parts adjacent thereof; and that inasmuch as they had already extremely suffered, and might do much more in their so honest and just Design, and for want of giving their Ambassadors, and by them their Moderators, the true State and Information of their Case: And although at present they have a very numerous Army, and a large Train of Artillery, and a most Noble, Valiant, Courageous and well disciplin'd Army, and have their Out-works, their deep Trenches, their Sconces, their Palli-
zadoes

zadoes, their Pioneers, their Counterscarps, their Engineers, their Scouts abroad, their strong Centinels upon their Frontiers, their advantageous Posts; and are also expert in the terms of Art when they are drawn up into *Battalia*, as their Wheelings, ~~their Sortings~~, their Facings, their Flankings, their Doublings, and their Front and Rear Division, and their Center, in such an excellent Order, and the like, whereby they do render themselves worthy the Appellation of what they truly are, *viz.* The legitimate Sons of *Mars*: But yet notwithstanding, for all this, they are in Quotidian Jeopardy, and in great danger of being besieged and sterved out by their Enemies, in their present Intrenchments; and should they draw forth, and come to a pitch'd Battel, by reason of their most potent Assailants, which lie also intrenched round about them, that they have so many and such powerfull Confederates, and having such great store of Ammunition, and in a Countrey where they have great store of Forage for their Cavalry, and plenty of Provision for their Infantry, (in the which they are at present but at a very low ebbe) they dare not run the hazard of a total Engagement, (unless they were certain that their Guardian Angels, which are the worthy Members of the Grand Committee, would appear and fight for them,) for fear they should be totally routed, and should be constrained to quit the Field, and to yield upon dishonourable terms: Whereupon during this present conjuncture, being unwilling to stand Neuter, (though peradventure I might have made some considerable advantage thereby) at length, upon serious consultation, I betook my self unto the weakest (as having the best Cause, and so I hope I shall do the same, *dum spiritus hos reget Artus*,) and the most innocent side; And thereupon being oftentimes in their Leaguer, and fearing that their Enemies might be too hard for them as to matter of Intelligence, I did at last resolve to imbarque my self, (whereby to give you the best Information I could of

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their present state and condition) in the good Ship called the *Happy Adventure* and *Bon Resolution*, and having weighed my Anchors, and hoised up my Sails, I committed my self to the mercy of the Ocean, and although I met with many a blustering storm, many cross Winds, many dark nights (and here and there at Sea a Ship upon the wrack) yet having a good cause, a tight Vessel, a Stout, Valiant, Sober, and well experienced Captain, a skilful Pilot, a rough hewn Boat-swain, a few stout and courageous Seamen, we did though through much difficulty and hard labour (and many times were constrained to pump hard for our own preservation) work our Vessel through them all.

And although in our Voyage, we did many times Sail by the Ports and strange Forts of our Enemies, and under their Castle-Walls, and within the reach of their Mortar pieces and their whole and demi Canons, yet still when we did apprehend any real danger, clapping immediately up and bearing in our Top-Mast head the antient Leases colours, (viz. Leases for 21 years) we passed them all along undiscovered. Neither did we make a *Noverint universi*, or put up any Bills before our departure whereby to procure any lading (for we tooke in none save only ballast, and some good provision for our intended Voyage) just as the Masters of Ships do upon the Royal Exchange, viz. That such a Ship now riding at Anchor in such a Bay, within the River *Rhine*, and within such a time is ready to depart, and bound (God willing) for the Port of *London*, the danger of the Seas only excepted, as having business of grand importance with the grand and Sub-Committee for *Gresham* affairs, sitting at *Mercers Chappel* within the said City, now this might have marred all, for then they would have sent their privateers and issued out Letters of Mart against us, and had they taken us in our expedition, they had seized upon our Cargo and all our concerns, which would have been as bad as if we had been all blown up into the air by some unexpected accident of fire falling into our Powder room, but our Men being all obliged

obliged to secrecy. We came all clear along the Coast, making the Lands end, we took in a skilful Pilot from the *Trinity-House* (for the better security of our vessel through the Channel) till at length, by a brisk and prosperous gale, with all our Sails spread, our Standard at stern, and our Streamers abroad, we made our joyful and so long wished for Port of *London*; and thus having brought our good Ship into her desired harbour, we will now cast out our Anchors (only my *Anchora spei* I will still keep within my own breast) and take some refreshments and will now freely (with most humble service) present the said good Ship with all her Masts Sails, Rigging, Guns, Mortar-Pieces, Cables and Anchors, her whole Cargo, and all things whatsoever thereunto appertaining (unless your Noble and Generous minds will please to defray the charge of the ballast within her, and of some of the ordinary Seamen, that were employed and entertained upon this expedition) to your most Worthy Selves, and Remain (Right Honourable and Right Worshipful)

*Your most Obedient, most Obligated and
most Faithful Servant to be Com-
manded,*

Θεόφιλος Φιλαλέθης.

F I N I S.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Ad Candidum Lectorem.

*Authoris scripti si vis Cognoscere Nomen,
Quarito in his literis, Lector amande scias.*

D E H N K R V T, &c.